

## Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 143284

FOLLOWING REPEAT NATO 5083 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO ALL  
NATO CAPITALS MADRID MOSCOW MAY 19.  
QUOTE S E C R E T USNATO 05083

E.O.11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: NATO, PORG  
SUBJECT: ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY: MAY 19 NAC DISCUSSION  
OF PART III

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REFS: (A) USNATO 4934, (B) STATE 126025

1. COUNCIL TODAY COMPLETED WORK AD REFERENDUM ON EAST-  
WEST STUDY. DOCUMENT NECESSARILY REPRESENTS COMPROMISE, BUT  
WE BELIEVE BASIC US DESIDERATA HAVE BEEN MET AND THAT PAPER  
AS A WHOLE WILL MAKE THE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION SOUGHT  
BY ALLIED LEADERS.

2. WITH REGARD TO SPECIFIC FINAL ISSUES, FRENCH WERE  
ADAMANT IN REFUSING TO ACCEPT PHRASES CONCERNING "CLOSE  
CONSULTATION" BUT DID AGREE TO REFERENCE TO "ALLIED  
CONSULTATIONS" AND THE OTTAWA DECLARATION. WE IN TURN  
AGREED TO MODIFY REFERENCES TO CONSULTATIONS IN ECONOMIC  
AND CSCE PARAGRAPHS AND DID NOT HAVE TO DELETE THEM AS  
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FRENCH HAD URGED. COMMITMENT TO SUCH CONSULTATIONS IS  
THUS RETAINED IN BOTH THESE PARAGRAPHS AND THROUGH  
REFERENCE TO OTTAWA DECLARATION.

3. DOCUMENT WILL BE CONSIDERED FORMALLY APPROVED BY COB  
MONDAY, MAY 22 UNLESS THERE ARE OBJECTIONS FROM CAPITALS.  
WE BELIEVE (A) FRENCH HAVE BEEN PUSHED AS FAR AS THEY WILL

GO--IT SHOULD BE RECALLED THAT THEY WERE RELUCTANT EVEN TO UNDERTAKE A PART III--., (B) BASIC US INTERESTS ARE PROTECTED, (C) THAT STUDY MEETS THE REQUIREMENTS SET OUT AT LONDON, AND (D) THAT ACCORDINGLY US SHOULD ADOPT IT. ACTION REQUESTED: WASHINGTON AUTHORIZATION BY OOB BRUSSELS TIME MONDAY, MAY 22 TO CONCUR IN ALLIANCE EAST-WEST STUDY.

4. SPECIFIC DECISIONS ON KEY PARAGRAPHS FOLLOW (LANGUAGE IS UNOFFICIAL, BUT ACCURATE AND PARAGRAPHS ARE NUMBERED PER TEXT TRANSMITTED REF A):

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(A) PARA 235: THE FIRST BRACKETED SENTENCE, "THE ABOVE CONSIDERATIONS...EAST-WEST RELATIONS." HAS BEEN DELETED (PER REF B). THE SECOND SENTENCE NOW READS "IT IS DESIRABLE FOR THE WESTERN POWERS TO EXCHANGE VIEWS AND TIMELY INFORMATION ABOUT ECONOMIC TRENDS IN THE USSR AND EAST EUROPE AND ABOUT EMERGING PATTERNS IN EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS WHICH MAY AFFECT THEIR (ALLIED) SECURITY."

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(B) PARA 240: THE LAST TWO SENTENCES OF THIS PARAGRAPH NOW READ "EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT THE BEHAVIOR OF THE EASTERN COUNTRIES, AT LEAST IN CERTAIN AREAS, CAN BE INFLUENCED SOMEWHAT. THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE EXCHANGING VIEWS ON CSCE-RELATED ISSUES." (WE AND SEVERAL OTHER DELEGATIONS PUT IT CLEARLY ON THE RECORD THAT THE PHRASE "EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" IN THE LAST SENTENCE WAS EQUIVALENT  
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TO "CONSULTATIONS". FRENCH DID NOT DEMUR.)

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(C) PARA 241: THE LAST TWO SENTENCES OF THIS PARAGRAPH NOW READ "THE EASTERN COUNTRIES CLAIM TO EXTEND THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WEST WHILE DENYING OTHERS THE RIGHT TO CRITICIZE THEM. MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE MUST MAKE IT PLAIN THAT MODERATION OF THIS 'STRUGGLE' IS AN IMPORTANT ASPECT OF DETENTE."

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(D) PARAGRAPH 243: THE LAST HALF OF THIS PARAGRAPH WHICH WAS AT ISSUE NOW READS "EACH ALLY WILL PLAY ITS FULL PART IN THIS PROCESS WITH THE DIVERSITY AND FREEDOM OF ACTION AND DECISION WHICH HAVE ALWAYS CHARACTERIZED THEIR APPROACH. IN THIS REGARD, THE ALLIANCE REMAINS THE MOST EFFECTIVE FORUM FOR ALLIED CONSULTATIONS ON THOSE MATTERS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS WHICH THE 1974 OTTAWA DECLARATION DEFINES AS WITHIN ITS COMPETENCE. THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN ALL RELEVANT FACTORS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS WILL NEED TO BE KEPT CAREFULLY IN MIND." (THE LAST TWO SENTENCES REMAIN PER REF A.) BENNETT UNQUOTE VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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